2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

178 times, my Chairman is the Christ, and the Standing Committee consists of the Apostles and Evangelists. I sit at the bottom end. I follow them as best I may in my religion and no one else." She lowered her merry, twinkling eyes at this and threw up the sponge. I have heard no more from her since about the "New Thought." She is doubtless still thinking. The present generation of both Japanese and Ainu are very restless under advice from their elders, and there is very much in the jibe of being an Elder Statesman! And so we see them "coming on." And some of them think Christianity is too strict.

178 795 This young woman is a fine Christian. She came to me one day in a very complaining frame of mind and I had no little bother with her. Said she: "I am very discontented today." "Why is that?" I asked. "Oh," she replied, "So and so has gone a bit wrong. Ah, before becoming Christians we do many little things which we do not then consider wrong, but as soon as we accept Christianity, things we thought right before straightway appear wrong. If any of us does a shaky thing now we have joined the Church, a very great noise is made about it at once. The non-Christians are up in arms in the twinkling of an eye, but if the very same thing is done by one of themselves no notice is taken of it; rather it seems to them to be the natural thing to do and somehow is to be expected! What a world! What a world! My friend did a very little wrong, but what a noise! And it is the very worst of the people who talk most and loudest!" And so forth. There is quite a lot of clever, quaint, good philosophy underlying the thoughts of these people and I find that they are very keen observers.

266 I mentioned above that the Ainu are not cannibals, but I have by me a story which seems to imply that they were so in the distant past. The tale is as follows.

THE KAMUI

776 account she came forth from an elm-tree impregnated by Kando-
koro Kamui, also called Rikun Kando Kamui, the Possessor of the
[372] Heavens. A third and common account makes her emerge from the
fire-drill, and according to a variant of this both Kamui Fuchi and
[794] Kinashut Kamui derive from the fire-drill. Because of her close
association with wood, a myth derives her *ramat* from the spirit
of vegetation.

As I understand it, Kamui Fuchi is the judge who punishes any misconduct, ritual or ethical, in this life by visiting upon the offender some misfortune or withdrawing her protection against evil spirits. I have been unable to confirm Batchelor's statement that she is concerned with a final 'day of judgment' by 'the great judge of all'.

Nusa-koro Kamui is held in high esteem, equal or nearly equal to that of Kamui Fuchi, who, according to some accounts, is his sister. But he is appealed to less frequently.

776 As will be described later, all *pase* (important or weighty) *kamui*
778 have their own assigned positions where *inau* are placed for them. That of Kamui Fuchi is the hearth, and is the most revered of all. The next best place is reserved for Nusa-koro Kamui; it is outside the sacred window and to the left of it. At Nibutani, where the window faces east, it is to the north-east. These sacred places, or rather the *inau* set up there, contain *ramat* of their respective *kamui*.

776 The name Nusa-koro Kamui[1] is really an epithet, as are nearly
[552] all titles of *kamui* and of persons. Even the most sacred names, which may only be uttered on serious occasions and then *sotto voce*, are epithets. In prayers he is addressed as Kotan-koresu (village raising) Kamui.

[769] The nature of Nusa-koro Kamui is somewhat mysterious, but
[795] investigation reveals a close connection with ancestor worship and of traces of a snake cult. Elders are buried near his *nusa*, and the
[778] place selected for libations and offerings to the dead, which are never omitted at any *kamui nomi* (festal service) to the gods, is
[782] nearby. In this ritual, offerings to Nusa-koro Kamui, like offerings to the dead, are carried out through the west door instead of being passed through the east window as is done for all other *kamui*.

[114]

[1] According to Munro Nusa-koro Kamui is masculine, but Mr Watanabe says that this deity is feminine, the sister of Kamui Fuchi, and is charged with the feeding of the Ainu. He also says that Hash-inau-uk Kamui and Kinashut Kamui are siblings of Nusa-koro Kamui.—B.Z.S.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Reference must be made to the secret worship on the occasion of the *pase ongami*. At Nibutani it was performed under the auspices of Metot-ush Kamui, and Munro states that at least four other *kamui* were worshipped on this occasion. One informant told him that the *kamui* he worshipped had been revered in his patrilineage for fourteen generations. Mr Watanabe states that *kamui nomi* ritual differs according to the different *ekashi-ikir* taking part in it. Mr Kubodera states that the *kamui* for whom *pase ongami* is performed differ in every patrilineage, and that they are so sacred that they are never mentioned outside the lineage. These observations of Mr Kubodera give significance to Munro's statement (Chapter III, pp. 37–8) concerning the use of the *ekashi itokpa* in the Bear Ceremony at Nibutani. 'A male ancestral sign (*ekashi itokpa*) is incised on the outspread shaven *inau* for Hash-inau-uk Kamui. . . . Two more of the same kind are placed where the head of the bear is displayed.' Thus, a link is suggested between the ancestry of the bear cub killed and the patrilineage of the elder who has reared the cub and carries out its ritual dismissal.

The importance of the bear deity cannot be over-emphasized; bear meat was the most esteemed food. The Bear Ceremony—actually the ritual killing of a god—was a highly important rite performed in every *kotan*. A cub was captured, and treated with great respect until it had grown old enough for its ritual dismissal. Munro witnessed this ceremony many times, and it is most unfortunate that his description of it should have been lost. The bear cub has been treated with the respect due to a god since the time of its capture; it is believed to appreciate its ceremonial death, and so to be ready for its *ramat* to reincarnate in another bear who will also be caught, worshipped and killed in the locality, thus providing the same patrilineage with food.

Kotan has been translated 'village' when the local settlement only is indicated, but it is clear that the word had a wider meaning in former times, and, as will be seen, still has in some contexts at the present day. According to Munro (Chapter II, p. 22) the cult of the eagle owl, known as Kotan-koro Kamui (Village-Owning Kamui) is prevalent in all localities, with 'varying importance'. He is sometimes referred to as Kotan-koro chikap ekashi Kamui (Village-Owning Divine Ancestor). At Mokoto in the north he is given special honour on festive occasions. At Nibutani, however, he was given a small offering compared with that of other *kamui*

795 769 825 776 worshipped at the same time, but notwithstanding this apparent neglect he was held in such awe that his skull was not used as a protector (*shiratki*), other birds being treated with sacred shavings and used in his place. In explanation, Munro suggested that the eagle owl might be a 'deity particular to certain Ainu'. Apparently he did not realize the importance of his own suggestion, founded as it was on a chance observation. However, when considered in conjunction with Mr Kubodera's observation that in the Saru district every family worshipped two 'weighty' *kamui*, one of which was always Metot-ush Kamui, and that of Mr Watanabe in which he noted that the *kamui nomi* ritual differs according to the *ekashi-ikir* of the worshipper, Munro's observation has considerable importance and throws fresh light on the Ainu ancestral cult. Thus, with his other somewhat cryptic remark: 'In certain villages they [the *itokpa*] are, whether alone or in combination, held to indicate communal solidarity, if not common descent', he brings forward both positive and negative evidence that the bear and the eagle owl, both important *kamui* for all Ainu, are worshipped in the ancestral cult of specific localities, and also that the *itokpa* are symbols of the patrilineal cult.[1] Further, the territorial character of the patrilineages in the north is established by the information given above by Rennuikesh.

[184] [778] [614] [423]

795 769 776 114 Batchelor states that Kando-koro Kamui (Possessor of the Sky) was also addressed as Kotan-koro Kamui (Possessor of the Village) as was seen in Chapter I, p. 12, but unfortunately, there is no information to indicate whether the use of this title was common to all Ainu or limited to certain localities.[2] Although Batchelor was mistaken in considering this *kamui* to be a supreme deity, it is significant that the 'Possessor of the Kotan' epithet connects the *kamui* of the sky with that of a local group, and thus with the ancestral patrilineal cult.

795 769 614 Another indication of the importance of the *kotan* to the patrilineal ancestral group is seen in No. 10 of a series of invocations to various *kamui* for aid in difficult childbirth (see Appendix, p. 166).

782 845 [184]

[1] It is unfortunate that the evidence we have does not indicate whether the Bear Kamui was associated with the ancestral cult in the Saru district only, or generally among the Ainu. Munro states that in the north Metot-ush Kamui was sometimes called Iworo Kamui; thus he is identifying the Bear with a territorial patrilineal group.

[2] I would like to suggest that the use may have been limited to certain territorial patrilineages.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

This is made to Nusa-koro Kamui, the Kamui of the chaff-thrown *nusa*, where, in olden times, it was customary to bury important elders. On this occasion, Nusa-koro Kamui is addressed as Kotan Koresu Kamui Ekashi (Ancestor Kamui who Rears the Kotan). Further evidence is seen in the title Iworo-koro Kamui (see above, p. 152). It is suggested that the bear, eagle owl, sky, and the chaff-thrown *kamui* (all, it should be noted, *pase kamui*) are each, in certain localities, connected with the *kotan* or the *iwor* (see below), territories occupied by patrilineages, and so associated with the ancestral cult.

Kotan chieftainship has broken down. Where it still exists, succession follows the old custom and is patrilineal. The chief was called *Sapane guru* and the office passed to the eldest son. Munro was told that in the old days a bad chief might be put to death. Mr Seiichi Izumi states (*Journal of Japanese Ethnology*, 1951) that since the 1890s when the Ainu lost their territorial rights to hunting and fishing grounds, the strong territorial group life has disintegrated. Previously, the chief presided over the patrilineal family groups—the *ekashi-ikir*—of the locality. In text fig. 8 Munro shows diagrammatically how the local groups were arranged with regard to their hunting rights on the hills and fishing rights in the rivers and on the sea coast. Hunting by means of a spring bow (*kuari*) was a collective activity limited by village rights. Persons not belonging to these groups could not become members of the *kotan* unless they were adopted by a local *ekashi-ikir* and given its badge (*itokpa*), for which a valuable gift would be accepted. Within the territory (*iwor*) of the *kotan* each family had certain exclusive rights which were transmitted from father to eldest son. These were specified hunting rights, fishing rights in rivers and on the coast, and the right to collect the herb from which aconite poison is extracted. No one was allowed to enter the *iwor* of another *kotan* without permission.

Mr Watanabe states that after the Ainu were given plots of land for cultivation in 1885 the *iwor* organization began to disintegrate, but in his recent researches in the Topachi district (1957) he found the largest territorial group to be the *ekashi-ikir*, each of which was associated with its type of *itokpa*. Thus he confirms Munro's somewhat obscure statement that the eagle owl might be 'a deity particular to certain Ainu', and, further, he indicates that the bear deity is associated with the *ekashi-ikir*.